1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

778 K'tai'di, lava, is a cliff of that rock two miles below Chiloquin on
787 the left bank of Williamson river. Seekers slept on this.

Ska'mdi is an eddy in Williamson river above Chiloquin. This is a spirit place but it does not seem that they swim there.

Once I [Pat Kane] and my two brothers camped near there just before sunset. We were on our way to Klamath marsh to pick pond-lily seeds. My oldest brother started a fire while the younger fetched water. I went to tie the horses. When I returned, my brother who had been to the river said, "There are many beaver in there." We took our guns to the spot. Soon a beaver swam close to us, only a few yards away, but we could not hit it. Soon two more came swimming close by. We failed to kill these. Then five came and soon so many more that they completely filled the river. My brothers said, "We had better not stop here. Let us get away." We packed the horses and left at once. I saw the water shaking[180] and the sound of thunder. It took all night to get back. My oldest brother got sick; no shaman could cure him. He was sick all summer and in the winter he died. Neither my younger brother nor I were sick.

A man and boy were going to Klamath marsh afoot. The boy was six or seven. The man wanted to try swimming in Ska'mdi. He told the boy, "If those things bite and kill me, you go home." The man had lost his wife; the boy alone was left. "I do not want to stay here; I want to die," the man said. The boy cried to him not to swim there. He walked back from the river bank, ran and plunged in. Big animals reached up and bit him. They came up twice; then he appeared no more. The boy saw it and wept. He started home; it took all night for him to reach Bzûkse'was below Chiloquin. At this place the water boils and cannot move down the river. No one can swim there; something always bites and kills them.

SPIRITS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

776 There is hardly a mile of Klamath territory but has its mythical reference. Everywhere there are personages of the folk-tales, now transformed to rocks by Crow's laughter. Spirits are legion and in many cases are localized, so that one looking over the countryside finds it rich in religious connotation. But despite its comparative richness, Klamath religion is quite unsystematized. There are no deities and the spirits as such hardly figure in the tales. Most of the actors of the tales are not spirits and this is especially true of the principal ones. There is little suggestion of any fixed relation between such as do figure there. In other words, the Klamath lack all architectural feeling in conceiving their religious beings.

Spirits form a uniform class; no one of them can be said to be
• 774 especially more important than any other. Souls and ghosts are
775 separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits. Spirits

[180] It is conceivable that an earth tremor dislodged the beaver.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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(swi'is) as we have seen are beings that live in the mountains, in river eddies, and in lakes, where they are sought by those in quest of power. Souls are personal and after death go to the land of the dead, No'lĭskăn. The soul leaves only at death; illness is not ascribed to its loss. Ghosts (skuks) wander from the land of the dead where souls have gone. It was not said that ghosts are souls in other guise nor were the ghosts referred to those of particular persons. The juxtaposition is rather like that of our own folk thought.

One word hoki's means soul, breath, and life. It is intelligible then why one of my informants said that all animals as well as men have souls. It is the quickening of life rather than spiritual personality that is implied by the word. They say of death, hoki no'tsna no'lĭskăn, the life leaves for the land of the dead. Its seat is within the heart (staii'nas); outside is the flesh (djolĕ'ks). When the body is cremated, the soul goes to the land of the dead. The flesh is destroyed; the ashes and smoke blown into the air are carried back to earth by rain, to the country of which the body is a part. Everything grows well then. But the soul never returns.[101]

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Ghosts return from the land of the dead because they want to live again. They are constantly about seeking to catch someone's soul to take to the land of the dead. (So I was told; but there was never a hint when they told me of curing that sickness is due to loss of the soul.) It makes no difference that one has spirit power, his life may be taken. This is most likely to happen to one in mourning as he sits alone weeping in his house at night, for ghosts usually come at night. Next day he will die. This happens commonly enough; even little boys at play see them and die at once. Shamans can discover this. Whatever they are like in the land of the dead, ghosts that return neither resemble humans exactly nor are they skeletons. Today some people talk without fear with ghosts, formerly they would have died. Possibly my informant meant by this that members of his own Shaker sect or adherents to the Ghost dance cult could talk to them with impunity, but he may have had in mind only the prohibition of the folk-tales against talking to the dead as they are being transformed to living creatures.

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[101] Gatschet records an obscure statement which he interprets: "The Maklaks [Klamath] believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances" (1:130). The word used is however skuks, ghost. I received no information of this sort.

[114]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AV	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	KF	KM	KS	MV	
Clubs																	
1055. Stone clubs	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	411
1056. "Slave killer" (animal figure)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1057. Paddle-shaped	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[532]
1058. Imported		·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1059. Natural cobblestone, cylindrical	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1060. Wooden clubs	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
1061. Natural limb	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
1062. Used in brawls or to kill salmon only	+	+							+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1063. Ball- or knob-ended	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
1064. Stone or horn spike insert	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1065. Straight rabbit club	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1066. Stone head encased in buckskin	–	(+)	·	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Fighting Spears																	
1067. Spear used in war	•R	+	+	–	•–	•–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	[726]
1068. Thrust mainly	(+)R	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1069. Flaked stone point	(+)R	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
1070. Bone or horn point	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Daggers, Slings, Bola																	
1071. Obsidian knife or dagger	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	
1072. Center section buckskin-wrapped	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1073. Hafted wooden handle	–	–	–	–				+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
1073a. Bone dagger, awl-shaped	–	–	–					•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1074. Sling	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	
1075. Used for war	–	+	·	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
1076. Used for hunting	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	
1077. Used as toy	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	
1078. Clay shot	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1079. Rocks for shot	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	•+	–	+	
1080. Bola	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	•+	•+		·	
Armor																	
1081. Rod jacket	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	714
1082. Hide tunic, no rods	•+	+	+	–	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	
1083. Hide helmet	(+)	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1084. Circular rod shield		–				•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1084a. Hide curtain as shield	–	+	(+)	+	–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Household Implements																	
Mortars and Pestles																	
1085. Bedrock mortar	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	412
1086. Portable stone mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1087. Outside rough hewn	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1088. Outside shaped and smoothed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1089. Found locally, used commonly	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
1090. Found locally, not used for grinding food	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	•+	
1091. Found locally, used by shaman	–	(+)	+	•+	•–	•+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	[756]
1092. Regarded as animate object	–	–	+	+		+	–	–						–	–	•+	[774]
1093. Regarded as dangerous or poisonous	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	•+	–	•+	+	·	–	–	–	•+	
1094. Made by myth character	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	–	–	•+	·	–	–	–	–	•+	[773]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
5071. *Burned at owner's death*	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5074. Brushes patient	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5076. Sucks patient	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5078. Can foretell future events											+	+	◔		-	-
5079. Performs in round house, at night											+	+	◔	◔	-	-
5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark													+	+	-	-
Soul-Loss Doctors																
5081. Soul loss doctors recognized	-	-	-	-	+	+	◔	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5081a. Men	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5082. Women	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
5083. Is also sucking doctor	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5084. Inherit power	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5085. Power through vision, dream	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	◔		-	-
5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one	-	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◔		-	-
5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	◔		-	-
5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	◔	◔	+	-	+	-		-	-
5091. Sings	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5092. Dances	-	-	-	-	+	+	◔	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5093. Has ... assistants	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	◔	-	-	-		-	-
5094. Outside speaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5095. Interpreter	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5096. Spectators sing in house	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks	-	-	-	-			-	+	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer"	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5100. Soul returns through fontanelle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	◔		-	-
Weather Shamans																
5100a. Weather shamans recognized	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	◔	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5101. Men mostly	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5102. Both sexes	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5103. Specialized profession	-	-	-	◔	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman	+	+	-	◔	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5105. Office inherited	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5107. Supernatural experience required	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5108. Make rain by formula, song	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5109. Sing with spectators	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5110. Smoke pipe				-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions											+	+	-		-	-
5112. Contortions or dancing	-	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5113. Can make fog, high winds	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5114. Make rain to remove snow	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5115. Can make rain stop	-	+	-	-		+	-	◔	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5116. Performs whenever need arises	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5117. Paid for performance	-	-	-	◔	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-
5118. Bets made on outcome of	+	-	-	-			-			-	-	-	-		-	-
5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers										◔	-	-	-		-	-
5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5121. At funeral	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5122. Thunders when doctor dies	◔	◔						+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often recur.

The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, apparently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating, and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word /ɬuw'i·s/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly individualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality, it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers, the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions. One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older informants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions associated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me, "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.' I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it." She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up, up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The informant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena: "When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-Caucasian: "*Those old Indians had a lot of sense.* They kind of felt at home around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my life."

A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.) These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps, because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above, struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too, 'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·;* that means the 'One on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil